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THE
INCREDBILITIES
OF
PART II.
OF
THE BISHOP OF NATAL'S WORK
UPON THE
PENTATEUCH.

A LAY PROTEST;

BY

JOHN COLLYER KNIGHT,

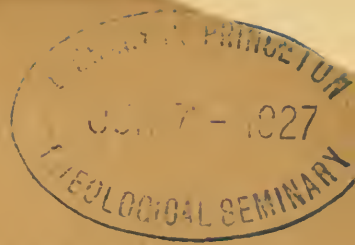
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THE INCREDIBILITIES,

ETC., ETC.

HAVING in the first portion of his work maintained that the "story" of the Pentateuch cannot be regarded as "historically true," the Bishop takes, in this Second Part, a further step—labouring with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to establish what we cannot but regard as a most improbable hypothesis as to its authorship.

To establish his Eureka, he first of all adopts, with some modifications of his own, and vindicates, a previous hypothesis—that known as the Elohistie; telling us, in reference to it, that "throughout the book of Genesis two different hands are distinctly visible;" that "of these two writers, one is distinguished by the constant use of the word Elohim (*God*); the other, by the intermixture with it of the name Jehovah (*Lord*); and that sometimes the latter writer uses only Jehovah for considerable intervals, as the other uses only Elohim: thus, in i. 1 to ii. 3, we have only Elohim, thirty-five times; in xxiv., only Jehovah, nineteen times. Can any one," he asks, "believe that these two passages were written by one and the same writer?" (p. 175.)

Now, if taking the five books of the Pentateuch just as he finds them, he could point throughout to manifest alternations from what he calls the Elohistie to the Jehovistic—here a continuous Elohistie portion, and there a continuous Jehovistic—first a long narrative in which the names God and Lord are intermingled, and then a continuous statement in which we have God only, or Lord only; the hypothesis and the conclusions of this second portion of his work would be so far plausible as to merit investigation.

But he cannot do this. In the first place, his instances of *genuine* Elohim do not extend beyond the first chapters of the

book of Exodus, and are therefore not from the Pentateuch as a whole; and, in the second, his Elohist portions, even of Genesis and Exodus, are for the most part not Elohist, unless such interpolations and corruptions of the original text be assumed, as may from time to time be demanded in order to bolster up his hypothesis. Sometimes, when the hypothesis demands it, the Jehovist, the later writer, is supposed to have "removed some part of the Elohist's narrative; replacing it, perhaps, by one of his own." (p. 175.) Sometimes, leaving the original narrative untouched, he "makes his own insertions only here and there; sometimes in long passages; sometimes in short ones; sometimes interpolating two or three verses only, or a single verse, or part of a verse." (p. 176.) First we have a bit of the Elohist document, then a bit of the Jehovist; and then again the Elohist, with, perhaps, if in its midst the word Jehovah makes its appearance, a Jehovistic interpolation; and then another with many interpolations, and then another with none at all.

For instance, we are told in Gen. xxv. 19-21:—

19 "These are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son: Abraham begat Isaac.

20 "And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padan-aram.

21 "And Isaac intreated the Lord (*Jehovah*) for his wife, because she was barren," etc.

Now, according to the Bishop, verse 20 is Elohist, for—

"The Elohist always uses Padan or Padan-aram (*i. e.* the 'cultivated field of the highlands,') for the mountainous district near the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, as in xxv. 20, etc.; whereas the Jehovist uses Aram-naharaim (*i. e.* the 'highlands of the two rivers'), (*Eng. Ver.* Mesopotamia). as in xxiv. 10."

Verse 21 then, which is Jehovistic, must be an interpolation, and so must be verse 22, and so also verse 23. Is this probable? Is this induction? Is this criticism? Can this satisfy?

In like manner the statement contained in xvii. 1, "And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the *Lord* appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the *Almighty God*, walk before me, and be thou perfect," is, according to the Bishop, a statement of the original Elohist narrative; for, says he, though—

"The Elohist uses the expression El Shaddai (the Almighty God), the Jehovist never employs it." (p. 176.)

The words, therefore, "the Lord (*Jehovah*) appeared to Abram," is a Jehovistic interpolation. But where is the proof of it? The necessities of the hypothesis demand it, indeed; but where is the

proof of it? With such liberties, such assumptions, any theory may be constructed, any hypothesis supported.

As far as regards the book of Genesis, it is quite true, indeed, that in it, there are continuous sections in which the name Jehovah does not appear, but in which the Divine being is spoken of simply as God; and then long and continuous portions in which the two names, Jehovah (Lord) and Elohim (God), are intermingled. We do not wish to shut our eyes to the fact. We are as anxious to ascertain and to test the genuineness of the Pentateuch as the Bishop himself; and to form our conclusions, not upon the authority of churches or of councils, but according to the data furnished by the books themselves. For instance, in the account of the creation contained in the first chapter, we have God only; so also in chapter xxxv. (where in the first fifteen verses we have it eleven times); so also in the greater portion of that succession of chapters which relate to us the history of Joseph; whilst in most of the others, we have either Lord God only, as in Gen. ii. 3 to end, or Lord only (as in xvii. and xxix), or God and Lord intermixed.

But (with the single exception of chapters i. and ii. of Exodus) nowhere else throughout the whole of the Pentateuch have we a single chapter in which the Divine being is spoken of only as Elohim (God). Either we have Lord (*i.e.* Jehovah) only, or Elohim and Jehovah combined, or intermixed.

In this respect, therefore, the book of Genesis, and the first two chapters of the book of Exodus, differ remarkably from the rest of the Pentateuch. This cannot be denied. But it does not follow therefrom that the book of Genesis consisted originally of one continuous narrative (the work of the Elohist), which a subsequent writer (the Jehovist) altered, supplemented, and interpolated. Nevertheless we cannot but think that this very remarkable fact does prove something; and that which we think it does prove is that the book of Genesis was rather edited by Moses, than, properly speaking, written by him; an opinion that we hold on other grounds also, and that may certainly be held without impeachment of the value and trustworthiness of the narrative.

The actual facts of the case are, we believe, that the book of Genesis contains many narratives—that it is a consolidation of the fragments of many writers. But that the remaining four books are of this character—that they can be broken up into Elohist and Jehovistic narratives—that two or more different hands can be traced in them—we do most confidently deny—and as confidently deny that it has been or can be shown that they are. In point of fact, the Bishop does not attempt it. Thinking he has proved his point in reference to the book of Genesis, he

assumes that what is true of Genesis, is true of the whole Pentateuch. He attempts to prove his hypothesis that the Pentateuch is the work of more writers than one, in reference to the book of *Genesis* and the earlier chapters of the book of *Exodus*; but though he assumes, he makes no attempt to prove it in reference to the remaining books. In fact he does not pretend that two hands are discernible in the books of *Leviticus* at all, nor in that of *Exodus*, or *Numbers*, or *Deuteronomy*, except to a very, very small extent.

With equal confidence do we deny that the Elohistic, or so called Elohistic and Jehovistic portions of the book of *Genesis* are ever contradictory. "The following," says the Bishop, whose hypothesis (so far, at least, as relates to the book of *Genesis*) would of course be strengthened, if their discrepancy could be established, "are the most noticeable points of difference between the two cosmogonies. In the first, the earth emerges from the waters, and is, therefore, saturated with moisture (i. 9, 10). In the second, the whole face of the ground requires to be moistened (ii. 6). In the first, the birds," etc. etc. (p. 172.)

But that the earth was, or was not so saturated, is the statement of neither of the two accounts. From those accounts, we may, it is true, *infer* either the one condition or the other—from the first, that the earth was necessarily, and in the nature of things, completely saturated, and that moisture was not needed; from the second, that it was not so saturated, and that moisture was needed. But however discrepant our inferences may be, between the actual statements of the narrative there is no discrepancy whatever. The first chapter tells us, indeed, of the emergence of the earth from the waters; but it tells us not of saturation. The second tells us, that there having been, up to the period spoken of, no rain, a mist went up from the earth, and that this mist watered the earth—falling, of course, either as dew or as rain. But that this took place when the earth was already saturated, or when it took place, except that it was subsequently to the creation of vegetation, it tells us not. Between the statements themselves, then, there is no discrepancy. We subjoin them:—

"And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, etc. And the evening and the morning were the third day."

"These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created in the day that the Lord God made the earth, and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew; for the Lord God had not [i. e. *not yet*] caused it to rain upon the earth [vegetation therefore was not in consequence of rain], and there was not [i. e. *not yet*] a man to till the ground. But [that

there might be rain?] there went up a mist from the earth, and it [condensed and falling as such, or as dew,] watered the whole face of the ground; and the Lord God formed man," etc.

But though we make these remarks in denial of the discrepancy asserted, we would here say, once for all, that it is, we believe, altogether idle to expect to be able to reason conclusively and satisfactorily, upon physical grounds, in reference to the astounding processes that were going on whilst creation was in progress. For, if supernaturalism be allowed, is not all argument absurd? Does not the supernatural suppose the abnormal—that which is contrary to experience—that which is exceptional, and startling, and strange? To argue, then, about probabilities or improbabilities; to suppose that this, or that, must have been—or could not have been—or, of course, was—or, was not; to make shrewd guesses about the unlikely and the likely—in the matter of such a marvellous instance of supernaturalism as the world's creation, we cannot but regard as egregious folly. It is, we believe, utterly impossible to account for the facts of creation, otherwise than by allowing the possibility of all that the admission of supernaturalism implies. Upon physical grounds alone the details of creation can be no more accounted for than can those of miracle. The existing laws which govern the physical world now, were not, could not have been, in full operation whilst the work of creation was yet in progress—whilst, as a whole, it was unfinished—incomplete. If they had, then the waters of the first three days (the sun not being yet created) must have been in that state of rock-like congelation in which, for want of the sun's heat, they are found at the poles now. The earth, therefore, at its first emergence, may or may not have been "saturated." The narrative does not say that it was, and the narrative does not say that it was not.

And so, with reference to the Deluge, and the Ark, and the cubical capabilities of the same, and the food for the animals, and the sun's standing still, and the like—the details of these several points may have been impossible naturally—but admit supernaturalism, and "all things are possible." It is idle to think of accounting for the details of Creation, or for the supernaturalisms of the Deluge, or of miracle, by natural causes, or by physical hypotheses. Supernaturalism is not supernaturalism, nor miracle miracle, if physical difficulties or objections can disprove them.

So far, therefore, as our own reception of the narrative is concerned, the saturation or non-saturation, the dryness or non-dryness of the earth, are matters of no consequence at all. It may have been saturated with moisture when it first emerged from the waters, or it may not; we know nothing about it, for the narrative

tells us nothing. And what was the condition of the earth when the mist went up, or when the dew or the rain fell—of this also we know nothing. And we care nothing. We accept as divinely true the facts given to us; and whether we can reconcile them with what we should consider probabilities, or whether we cannot, we still accept them.

As regards the next discrepancy, viz., that—

“In the first account the birds and beasts are created before man (Gen. i. 20, 24, 26); in the second, man is created before the birds and beasts (ii. 17, 19.)”

it is sufficient to remark, that ii. 17, 19 say nothing whatever of precedence or succession, but merely tell us that God created man, and that God created animals. It is quite true (the order in which these two creations are spoken of in this second chapter being the reverse of that in which they are presented to us in the first) that these verses may, if there be scepticism on other grounds, seem to give countenance and confirmation, but not much, to the hypothesis that one of the two accounts is not correct. But if there be belief, the mere difference of order in which they are brought before us is clearly no reason for the resignation of that belief. Had the second chapter expressly said that the order of these creations was the reverse of that of the first chapter, this indeed would have been conclusive. But it does not do this. It simply tells us that God created man, and that God created beast.

But there are other discrepancies.

“In the first account, all fowls that fly are made out of the waters (i. 20); in the second, the fowls of the air are made out of the ground (ii. 19.)”

In the first account, all fowls that fly are *not* made out of the waters. A literal translation of the verse referred to, is, of this, proof complete. “And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and *let* fowl fly above the earth. The authorised version is, “Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, *and* fowl *that may* fly above the earth:”—but this translation of it is not literal.*

We pass on to the Deluge.

“Similar contradiction,” he continues, exists also in the account given of the Deluge. Thus, in Gen. vi. 19, 20, we read as follows:—‘Of every

* Other discrepancies of statement in these two accounts are alleged; but they are so obviously no discrepancies at all, that it is both irksome and needless to endeavour to disprove them.

living thing of all flesh, *two* of every sort thou shalt bring into the ark,' etc.; but in vii. 2, 3, the command is 'Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by *sevens*, the male and his female, and of beasts that are not clean, *by two*,* the male and his female: of fowls also of the air by *sevens*, the male and the female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.'

Now it is not to be denied that verses 19, 20, of chapter vi., as given in the authorised version, do seem to convey the idea that God directs that only "two of every sort," whether clean or unclean, are to be taken into the ark. Such being the case, when we come to vii. 2, 3, and read, as quoted by the Bishop, "Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by *sevens*, etc.," it is undeniable that the direction given in the seventh chapter does seem to be not different merely, but discrepant, from that previously issued.

Not being satisfied with the explanations commonly suggested, we have endeavoured to ascertain whether some more satisfactory solution may not be discovered. And we believe that such is to be found in the fact, that chapter vi. 19, is, we will not say incorrectly, but ambiguously rendered. We believe that the direction there given is not that "two of every sort," whether clean or unclean, are to be taken, but "twos," *i. e.* couples or pairs. The Hebrew is שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל.† How many of these "twos," or couples, whether one of all animals, or whether seven of the clean and one of the unclean, is a point upon which chapter vi. says nothing. It simply directs that the animals preserved are to be so many "twos." It is not till we get to chapter vii. that the number of these couples is spoken of. That chapter furnishes additional but not different directions. The directions of these two chapters, then, if we understand chapter vi. 19 as above, so far from being discrepant, harmonize most thoroughly.‡

In reference to the name Jehovah (*Lord*), to which the remainder of the volume is devoted, the Bishop, after quoting the well-known passage,

"And God spake unto Moses, and said, I am Jehovah. And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of [rather, *as*] God Almighty, but by [or rather, *as to*] my name Jehovah was I not known [or, *made known*] to them, etc." (Exod. vi. 2, 3.)

* Or rather *two*; the Hebrew being שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם not שְׁנַיִם.

† *Two of all*, viz., "of fowls," "of cattle, etc."

‡ The Vulgate, translating the Hebrew שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל of vi. 19, 20, *bina*, exactly expresses the sense of our own translation. "Et ex cunctis animantibus universæ carnis bina (not duo) induces in aream, ut vivant tecum masculini sexûs et feminini ... bina de omnibus ingredientur tecum."

§ "The name of" being a supplement not in the original.

|| וְשֵׁמִי יְהוָה.

¶ See Ezek. xx. 9, and xxxv. 11; where the word here made use of, גִּדְרָעָתִי, is so translated.

observes (p. 231), that "if the name originated in the days of Moses, then Moses in writing the story of the ancient patriarchs would certainly not have put the name into their mouths, much less into those of heathen men."

Of course he would not. But (upon precisely similar grounds), if "Samuel was the Elohist writer of the Pentateuch" (pp. 223—229), and if "the name Jehovah was quite new to the Hebrew people in the days of Samuel" (p. 262); and if the Bishop can "scarcely avoid the inference that Samuel himself must have first introduced it" (p. 263, 339);* and if, as further supposed, the account given of the first introduction of the name be by Samuel himself (p. 260), is it not strange that he should undertake to record that the name had been known to the people for more than 300 years—for that it was as old as the days of Moses. May we not, slightly altering the above quotation by the substitution of Samuel for Moses, with equal propriety say, that "if the name originated in the days of *Samuel*, then *Samuel*, in writing the story of the ancient patriarchs, would certainly not have ascribed the name to the days of Moses."

But we cannot allow that the passage in question makes any such assertion as that the name "was now for the first time *revealed*" (p. 230). It simply tells us that to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "by [*or as to*] my name Jehovah was I not known [*or made known*]." An examination of scriptural usage amply shows that the two expressions *to be revealed*, and *to be known*, or *made known*, are not identical.

Premising that the meaning of the name Jehovah, according to Gesenius and others, is "The Immutable" (Leo's Gesenius, p. 282), we beg (in proof that they are not), to call attention to the following passages; from which it will appear that God is said in Scripture to make his name known as Jehovah, the Unchangeable, not by the mere announcement or revelation of his name as such, but

1st, by his judgments.

I will execute judgments in Egypt, and they shall know that I am Jehovah. Ezek. xxx. 19.

Jehovah is known by the judgment that he executeth. Psalm ix. 16.

I will cause them to know my hand and my might, and they shall know that my *name* is Jehovah. Jerem. xvi. 21.

and 2ndly, by fidelity to his engagements;

There shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, and they shall know that I am Jehovah God. When I shall have gathered the

* An inference to the proving of which a very large portion of the remainder of the Bishop's book is devoted. See the chapters respecting the so called Elohist and Jehovistic Psalms.

house of Israel from the people among whom they are scattered, and shall be sanctified in the sight of the heathen, then shall they dwell in their land that I have given to my servant Jacob, and they shall know that I am Jehovah their God. Ezek. xxviii. 24, 25.

In the day when I chose Israel and *made myself known** unto them in the land of Egypt, when I lifted up my hand unto them, saying, I am Jehovah, your God ... *I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt.* Ezek. xx. 4—9.

To these quotations we may add two from the book of Exodus itself, which refer, or seem to refer, to the verse under consideration.

In Exod. vi. 6, 7,—the third and fourth from the verse in question—and which seem to be intended to explain in what way it was that God would make himself known as Jehovah, *i.e.* as the Unchangeable, as the Faithful to his promises, we read

“I am Jehovah: and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians; and I will rid you out of their bondage; and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments; and I will take you to me for a people; and I will be to you a God; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah, your God.”

“And the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah.” See also verses 17, 22; ix. 16; and x. 2, 7.

Our inference from these several passages is, that the statement, “I *appeared* unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty, but by [or as to] my name Jehovah I was not made *known* unto them,” is tantamount to saying that though God had *revealed* himself to them as the Almighty God, and had entered into covenant with them, the promises of that covenant had not as yet been fulfilled. “The God of glory,” says Stephen (Acts vii. 3—5, “*appeared* unto our father Abraham ... but *he gave him none inheritance*, no, not so much as to set his foot on: yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him.”† God had not made himself known to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by the fulfilment of the engagements made to them. They died in the faith, but they “received not the promises” (Heb. xi. 13). But now he would so make himself known. Both Israel and Pharaoh should know that he was, as he ever had been, the Jehovah, the Unchangeable.‡

* The same mood, and tense, and conjugation, as Exod. vi. 3.

† “God promised Canaan to Abraham, and yet Abraham never inherited Canaan. To the last he was a wanderer there. He had no possession of his own in its territory. If he wanted even a tomb to bury his dead, he could only obtain it by purchase.” See Robertson’s admirable sermon in reference to God’s non-fulfilment of his promises. Sermons, 3rd series, p. 87.

‡ “The name Jehovah was already known to the patriarchs as an uncomprehended, unmeaning proper name; but not as a descriptive appellative noun, indicative of the attributes and qualities of God.” Ebn Ezra in Kalisch.

Should this interpretation of the verse not be regarded as satisfactory, it must be borne in mind, that the Hebrew, no less than the English version of the same, "was I not known," *may* be taken interrogatively. There are many who so understand it. To accept either the one or the other of these two interpretations, unless a better can be suggested, is surely more reasonable than to suppose that the name in question was revealed to Moses now for the first time.

The main argument by which, in the present volume, the Bishop labours to prove that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses, is based upon the fact that it contains various passages that are, he thinks, so obviously of a later date, as to prove the point conclusively. But, inasmuch as these passages are most of them universally admitted to be the parenthetical, supplementary insertions of some later writer, of Ezra, or some other, and as we cannot therefore but regard the argument based upon them as valueless, we pass them over. Of the few that are not of this character, satisfactory solutions may be found in most commentaries. There is one of them, however, respecting which we cannot withhold a brief remark—the Bishop (p. 200) thinks, that in Gen. xli. 6, we have such an instance of ignorance or of obliviousness of the geographical and physical differences between Egypt and Canaan, as clearly to betray that the writer, whoever he was, knew nothing of Egypt—the east wind being, in the verse in question, spoken of as "a parching wind:"

"Which," says the Bishop, "as Gesenius observes, it certainly is in Palestine, but not in Egypt; whence the LXX., in that place, write νότος, *south-west wind*, instead of εὖρος.

Where Gesenius says this we do not know, and cannot find out. But of this we are sure, viz., that the LXX. translation of this passage is not as stated. Any one that has a copy of the Greek translation may see this for himself. There is some mistake.

In his "Thesaurus," he tells us, indeed, that the word in question is so translated in some other places; and that there are some who think ["suntque qui existimant"] that in this passage the wind indicated is "contra loci naturam;" but so far is Gesenius from acquiescing in the opinion, that he vindicates the text, and regards the objection raised against it as valueless.*

* "Quoniam in Ægypto Euris refrigerat potius quam æstu adurit, Auster contra vehementius flat, LXX. septem locis pro קרים, קדם, νότον posuerunt Exod. x. 13 (bis), xiv. 21; Num. xxxiv. 15; Job xxxviii. 24; Psa. lxxviii. 26; Ezek. xxvii. 26; suntque adeo, qui, Gen. xli. 6, 23, 27, *Eurum* a scriptore sacro contra loci naturam positum existimant (v. Bohlen); sed vide possitne Euris de quovis vento vehementiore dictus (et sic Psa. lxxviii. 26), vel ita positus esse, ut etiam Austrum comprehendat. Ita

Thinking, for the reasons assigned, that the Pentateuch, "the greater portion of it, at all events, if not, indeed, the whole of it" (p. 223), was not and could not have been written by Moses, the Bishop infers that the earlier, or what he calls the Elohistie portions, were probably written by "Samuel," "aided by the sons of the prophets" (p. 225). The main grounds upon which he arrives at this singular conclusion are, that "there is no one mentioned in the whole history, before his time, who [if Moses did not write it] can be supposed to have written any part of it;" that "Samuel did occupy himself with historical labours, as we are told expressly in 1 Chron. xxix. 29;" in short—that if Moses did not write it, and if Samuel did not write it, he does not know, and cannot think, who did.

But he does not feel confident about it. He sees clearly enough, and admits, that he cannot prove his point. "We are now entering," he says, "on the field of conjecture" (p. 226). He believes that there are strong reasons for ascribing the Elohistie portion, or document—a document, be it remembered, whose separate existence has been anything but proved—"which forms the groundwork of these books," to the age, and therefore, probably, to the hand, of Samuel; "yet," he says, "this is a question merely of probability," and "our views, in this respect, may be shewn to be erroneous" (p. 272).

But, at all hazards, the old belief that any portion of the Pentateuch was written by Moses, must be given up; and so, the Bishop, starting or adopting hypothesis after hypothesis; first the hypothesis that the Pentateuch is later than the days of Moses; and then the further hypothesis that it is the production of more writers than one; and then the hypothesis that the parts respectively furnished by these writers are now so amalgamated and intermingled that they cannot be separated otherwise than conjecturally, reaches at length this notable, but "possibly erroneous" conclusion, viz., that the greater portion of it, more than five-sixths, was written by he does not know whom, and he cannot tell when; except that he thinks it must have been written "in the latter days of David, or in the early part of the reign of Solomon," *i.e.* not till Moses, of whose times these five-sixths treat, had been dead for more than 400 years; but that most of the small remainder, viz., "about one half of the book of Genesis, a small part of Exodus, less of Numbers, and a very small portion of Deuteronomy," was written "perhaps" by Samuel.*

Bochartus Hieroz. ii. 663, qui apud Græcos in vulgari sermone ventum orientalem ad τὰ νότια, contra occidentalem ad τὰ βόρεια referri docet." Thesaurus Ling. Heb., Lips., 1842, 4to., p. 1194.

* "Probably" (p. 226). "Provisionally and tentatively we may ascribe them to Samuel" (p. 228).

But we are not to suppose that even he wrote it as a "veracious history," or intended it to be received as such, but as a sort of "historical experiment," for the instruction and improvement of his pupils, as the following extract makes known to us:—

"There is not," says the Bishop, "the slightest reason to suppose that he ever professed to be recording infallible truth, or even actual historical truth. He wrote a narrative. But what indications are there that he published it at large, even to the people of his own time, as matter-of-fact, veracious history? Why may not Samuel, like any other Head of an Institution, have composed this narrative for the instruction and improvement of his pupils (from whom it would gradually find its way, more or less freely, among the people), without ever pretending that it was any other than an historical experiment, an attempt to give them some account of the early annals of their tribes? In later days, it is true, this ancient work of Samuel's came to be regarded as infallibly divine. But was it so regarded in the writer's days?" (p. 375.)

"When, however," we are further told, "he had once set the example of this mode of composing the early history of the people, it was, of course, most easy and natural for his disciples in a later age to follow him: more especially, if, as we may very well suppose, the unfinished manuscript was left in their hands by their dying master, with the permission, or even the injunction, to complete and perfect it to the best of their power. The establishment of the Divine Service of the Tabernacle in David's time, and at the Temple in Solomon's, would give occasion for additions to be made of a ceremonial and ritualistic character.* ... Yet there is no sign that the laws thus laid down were *published* for general information, or enforced. ... In this form, the roll seems [?] to have lain for nearly four centuries, kept, it may be, in the Temple archives, and referred to, perhaps, occasionally, when information was desired, or an addition was to be made to it. ... But, as we have said, we shall examine thoroughly into this point hereafter [*viz.* in Part III.]. For the present, it is sufficient to call attention to the occurrence in Josiah's days, which is related in 2 Kings xxii., when the pious king himself, as well as the people, was taken wholly by surprise by the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple." (p. 379, 380.)

In reference to this finding of the Book of the Law in the reign of Josiah, it must be remembered, that Josiah was the successor of Manasseh and Amon, the former his grandfather, the latter his father. That the united reigns of Manasseh and of Amon were fifty-seven years. That in Manasseh's reign, the House of the Lord had been converted into a Temple of Baal, and "for the worship of all the host of heaven" (2 Ki. xxi. 5); and that the probability is (such probability being certainly far stronger than any of the Bishop's probabilities) that fearing for the Book of the Law of the Lord, lest it should perhaps be destroyed, either some pious priest secreted it, all knowledge of the place of its concealment dying with him; or, which we think a more probable supposition, that those employed by Manasseh in converting the

* Of the book of Leviticus, for instance, which the Bishop refers to this period.

Temple into a Temple of Baal, had stowed it away nobody knew where, in some one of the many chambers of the Temple.

Towards the close of Manasseh's reign, Manasseh, repenting of his wickedness, endeavoured so far as he could, to restore the Temple worship as before. But dying, Amon succeeded him, who continued the idolatry which had been established by his father. He dies; and Josiah comes to the throne, a child of eight years of age.

For the first few years, Josiah seems to have suffered things to go on as they had been going on under his grandfather and father; but, at length, "in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young [*viz.* about sixteen years of age] he began to seek after the God of David his father;" and in the twelfth year [*i. e.* when about twenty years of age] openly avowed his determination to take the Lord God of his fathers to be his God. Judah and Jerusalem were purged of their high places, and groves, and images; the altars of Baal were broken down, and orders given to repair the House of the Lord. In the course of these repairs, the book of the Law is found.

Now we could scarcely expect that the boy Josiah, the son of such a father, the grandson of such a grandfather, should know very much about the Book of the Law, or the writings of Moses. Can we wonder, then, at his proceedings when the concealed or missing document was at length found? or at his previous "ignorance of the nature of its contents"? Must we, in order to account for them, adopt the monstrous hypothesis that it had lain in the Temple for nearly 400 years, seldom consulted, and at length lost sight of and forgotten; and that there existed, moreover, no private copy? Which is the more probable hypothesis—the latter, the hypothesis of the Bishop? or, the common and common-sense hypothesis? *viz.* that though private copies existed, the original autograph Temple copy had in Manasseh's time been tossed aside, or stowed away, as lumber, no one knew where, in some one of the numerous chambers of the Temple.

Any further remarks that we may have to make upon the above extraordinary statement we reserve until Part III. shall have appeared; when arguments in support of the same will be more fully before us.

But the Bishop cannot withhold one fact in reference to the Book of Deuteronomy, that is to figure in this forthcoming Part; it is, we suppose, so telling, so thoroughly conclusive. Indeed, such is his confidence of its value, that he thinks that "This single fact," *viz.* the one we are about to quote, "seems sufficient to decide the question" as to "whether the whole of the Pentateuch was written by Moses." So we have it beforehand!

It is, that "in the other four books [or three books, rather, viz, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers] the priests are invariably called the sons of Aaron (Lev. i. 5, 7, 8, 11; ii. 2; iii. 2; xiii. 2; Num. x. 8,) never the sons of Levi; whereas in Deuteronomy [which Part III. is to prove to have been written about the time of Josiah], they are called invariably the sons of Levi, or Levites (Deut. xvii. 9, 18; xviii. 1; xxi. 5; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9; xxxi. 9), never the sons of Aaron; and, in fact, the Deuteronomist distinctly mentions Levi, xviii. 1, 5, xxxiii. 8, 11, not Aaron, as the root of the priestly office and dignity" (p. 359).

The inference of course is, that the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy is not the same with that of the books preceding it.

Now, at first sight, it certainly does seem strange (for the fact is as stated by the Bishop), that in the book of Deuteronomy the designation given to the priests should differ so remarkably, and so invariably, from that given to them in the other portions of the Pentateuch; so strange, that many, we doubt not, will, without examination and without challenge, regard the Bishop's argument as quite conclusive.

To confirm, then, or to disprove this startling inference, we turn to the text, and what do we there find? We find that in the other books they are spoken of as the sons of Aaron, *because* in those other books the priests spoken of were the actual sons of Aaron, his own immediate and proper sons, Eleazar and Ithamar; but that in the book of Deuteronomy, where the priests are spoken of *not* as the sons of Aaron, but of Levi, the priests in question (with the exception of those referred to in one single passage, Deut. xxvii. 9) were *not* Aaron's own immediate sons, but the priests that should be—the priests of an after generation. "If," says xvii. 9, in reference to the proceedings of the people when they should be settled in the land of Canaan, "there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, thou shalt go unto the priests, the Levites." "If one be found slain in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, then the priests, the sons of Levi," etc. (xxi. 5.) And so of the other passages.

And now, in sober and earnest seriousness, and in the name of common sense, which is the more probable hypothesis? the hypothesis which ascribes the Pentateuch to Moses?—an hypothesis held by the Jews themselves, so far as we know, without doubt and without break, from the earliest periods of their history down to the present time—an hypothesis which has so much to recommend it, and which has no difficulties to overcome that may not easily be set aside:—or, the hypothesis that one-sixth of it was written "probably" "by Samuel,"—that this one-sixth is founded,

not upon documents, but upon tradition and conjecture, being compiled "out of his own imagination when tradition failed him" (p. 368),—that what he wrote remained for nearly four hundred years unpublished, unenforced, unknown, "kept, it may be, in the Temple archives," "in the possession of the priests;"—that the other five-sixths, including the whole of Leviticus, and, with the exception of "a very small portion," the whole of Deuteronomy, was written nobody knows by whom, and nobody knows when, except that it must have been "in the latter days of David," or, "probably in the early part of Solomon's reign" (the book of Deuteronomy excepted, which is referred to Jeremiah);—that the document thus added to from time to time by those who had access to it, or in whose custody it was, turned up one day in the days of king Josiah, "taking the pious king himself, as well as the people, wholly by surprise" (p. 380), who up to that time are supposed to have known nothing of the book, and to have been "in complete ignorance of the nature of its contents;"—the one, an hypothesis countenanced and asserted by our Lord himself, asserted in all those subsequent books of the Old Testament that in any way refer to its authorship, and confirmed by various indications of being, so far, at least, as relates to the times of Moses, a contemporaneous document (see Graves on the Pentateuch *passim*)—the other, an hypothesis that necessitates the belief that the very earliest portion of these books, viz., that ascribed to Samuel, was not written until Moses had been dead 300 years,—that this document lay neglected and unknown for nearly 400 years more,—that it at length turned up; and that when found, it was credulously and at once accepted, though never before heard of, as the genuine writings of Moses, without question and without doubt.

We do not ask which of these two hypotheses can be proved to demonstration; but which of the two is the more probable hypothesis?

March 14th, 1863.

POSTSCRIPT.

KALISCH, in his Commentary on Exodus xii. 37, with a view to the confirmation of the probability of the enormous increase of Jacob's descendants during their residence in Egypt, refers to a narrative, which he supposes to be authentic, but which is not so. This narrative having been, upon the authority of Kalisch, accepted as trustworthy, and Kalisch's note in reference to it having been copied first into one reply to the Bishop's Part I., and now very recently into another, it may be as well, perhaps, with a view to prevent its further adoption, to take this opportunity of reprinting the subjoined letter respecting it, addressed by the writer of these pages to the Editor of the *Record*, and published in the January 26th number of that paper.

"BISHOP COLENSO, KALISCH, AND THE PENTATEUCH.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE RECORD.

"SIR,—In one of the various replies to the Bishop of Natal's attack upon the Pentateuch, we have, as a supposed confirmation of the probability of the enormous increase of Jacob's descendants, during the 215 years of their residence in Egypt, a statement from Kalisch's Commentary (on Exod. xii. 37) that we do not need—for it is one that cannot be sustained.

"The passage in question is as follows:—

"'In confirmation we refer the reader to the authentic and interesting account concerning the Englishman, Pine, who was, in 1589, thrown with four females upon a desert island, south-east of the Cape of Good Hope, and whose descendants had, after seventy-eight years, increased to more than 11,000 souls.'

"Kalisch does not give his authority for this extraordinary statement; but I beg to state that his sole authority is a certain rare pamphlet, published in 1668, of which the British Museum possesses three copies, *viz.*, the first and second editions, bearing the above date, together with a reprint of a later period. Its title is 'The Isle of Pines; or, a late Discovery of a Fourth Island in the Terra Australis Incognita. Being a true Account of certain English Persons, who in the Dayes of Queen Elizabeth were . . . wracked upon an Island near to the Coast of Terra Australis Incognita, and all drowned, except one Man and four Women . . . And now lately . . . a Dutch Ship, driven by foul weather there by chance, have found their posterity to amount to ten thousand or twelve thousand Persons, as they suppose.'

"Kalisch assumes, clearly without examination of the pamphlet (farther than to get from p. 1 the date given by him, *viz.*, 1589), that this wondrous

narrative is a trustworthy, genuine, veritable document. Had he been better acquainted with the literature of our country at the period in question, he would have known, however, that this pamphlet is of no more value, in an historical respect, than Swift's 'Gulliver,' or Defoe's 'Crusoe';—that it is a mere fiction—a mere invention—a licentious joke—the production of one Henry Neville, the author of 'The Parliament of Ladies,' 'Newes from the New Exchange, printed in the Year of Women without grace, 1650,' and other trash—a writer, who in the days of the Commonwealth and Charles II. pandered to the depraved taste of the times by many such productions. See Wood's 'Athenæ,' and Chalmers's 'Biographical Dictionary.'

"Such being the case, it is hardly worth while to add (except, indeed, for the more effectual disproof of Kalisch) that the statement that Pine's descendants in 1667 were more than 11,000, is that of the title-page only. The book itself simply tells us that in forty years they were 565, and nineteen years later, 1789.

"Were further disproof of the trustworthiness of the pamphlet needed, I might add that, in the latitude and longitude attributed to the island, no such island exists. In the West Indies there happens to be one bearing this name, discovered by Columbus; but, unfortunately, that part of the world known as the Terra Australis, and the West Indies, are very far apart. South of New Caledonia there is another; but this latter, at the date of the pamphlet (1668), was as yet unknown, for its discoverer was Cook.

And as regards the name of these two islands, they were named, from the one and the other, not (as in the case of the island of the pamphlet) from the name of their first occupant, but simply from the great abundance of pines that were found growing upon them at the time of their discovery. ['Porque vieron en ella *muchos pinos* la puso el Almirante Isla de Pinos.'—Herrera's Hist., i., 130, Edit. 1730, fol.—'They' (*viz.*, the trees) 'had much the appearance of tall pines, which occasioned my giving that name to the island.'—Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii., p. 135.]

"Yours respectfully,

"J. C. KNIGHT.

"BRITISH MUSEUM, *January 19th, 1863.*"

In reference to the requirement of Deut. xxiii. 12, "Thou shalt have a place without the camp," etc., it may be as well also to take this opportunity of stating, in addition to the remarks given in our former pamphlet, "The Pentateuchal Narrative, etc.," that the objection based upon it by the Bishop in reference to the encampment in the Wilderness, is *wholly* without foundation—it being certain that the command in question had nothing at all to do with the proceedings of the wilderness. It was not issued till the journeyings of the Israelites were ended—when, having reached the borders of Canaan, they were encamped in the plains of Moab, "in the eleventh month of the *fortieth* year" (Deut. i. 3), on the banks of Jordan, preparatory to their entrance into Canaan, upon the death of Moses. It is simply a direction as to what they would be required to do, when having entered the land of Canaan, they should leave their homes for military service. During their passage through the wilderness, a due regard to decency and cleanli-

ness would, of itself, most likely, lead to the adoption of whatever decency and cleanliness might render needful; and since each tribe encamped apart, it is not difficult to conceive that this might easily have been done, without imposing upon them the necessity of journeying "three-quarters of a mile," or more, or laying upon them any command at all.

But when, having entered Canaan, their men of war, leaving their homes, should go forth to do battle with their enemies—then, disregarding cleanliness, they might be tempted, with a view to personal safety, to fear to quit the close quarters of the camp. But cleanliness is so insisted upon in the laws given to Israel, that Moses contemplating the possibility under such circumstances of uncleanly practice in the matter referred to, directs, with a view to its prevention, that even under those circumstances they shall fearlessly leave the safe and close quarters of their encampment, rather than do anything in violation of decorum or of cleanliness.

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